/469 cont./
619 they followed in the more serious questions that involved relations
622 with other tribes or with the whites. Each one, however, judging himself perfectly independent and even with very little power over the other men of his own maloca.

• 701 It consists, indeed, of the temporary union of several groups
622 for an aggressive or defensive military expedition under the orders of a single chief (106).

106. Thus the renowned Ajuricaba of the Manao nation, with his two thousand bows, navigating true fleets under the flag of Holland, hunted Indians of other tribes in order to sell them as slaves to the Hollanders of Guiana (cf. Xavier Sampaio, "Diario," n. 336). In 1858 Pe. Romualdo Gonçalves de Azevedo (Archivo do Amazonas, Vol. II, n. 7, p. 86), narrating the episode of the "Cristo de Juquira" (cf. VII-4, b), estimates that a thousand persons from various localities and tribes gathered in Juquira in declared hostility to the civilized. Alexandre R. Ferreira ("Diário" of 1785), apropos of the legendary city of Manoa, vast captial of the Manao, explains to us that on the river Urubaxi where the Manao formerly were: "the reported aldeia /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ (irananauoca) did not have the qualities and greatnesses that the city of Manoa paraded, because, notwithstanding that all these were confederated, their aldeias were nevertheless independent of one another and many of them as populous as Irananauoca."

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622 /470/ There has never been a true authority, but only the
797 ascendancy of one tuxaua over the others. This is more or less the present situation of a Missionary, and, with certain reservations, we can speak of a hypertuxauaship.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

6

Leadership and Authority

Leadership among the Cubeo follows a principle that tends to understate authority. This principle asserts that leadership derives from giving more than one receives. Authoritarian relationships, by contrast, follow an opposing principle, that of receiving more than one gives. Authority, to be sure, can be established on a personal basis of personality and prowess. However, societies that have developed strong authority systems have usually done so by economic means, by inequality in the flow of goods. An authority system based on unequal flow of goods upward, from the community to a chief, is likely to respond quickly to economic development, and at the same time to foster economic growth. The Cubeo theory effectively minimizes the economic impact of leadership. The principle of greater flow to the top creates the condition for an expanding economic-political system, whereas the principle of greater flow from the top down creates the conditions for a static political-economic system. The economic role of the Cubeo headman is confined largely to stimulating the production of chicha. In short, the Cubeo headman gives all of his effort and ability to the community. The community, for its part, has no obligation to give anything to him. Since he has no authority to command economic productivity, for he is not an economic redistributor, he is devoid of significant economic function. At the same time the headman is a secular figure; he has no greater magical or religious powers than any other and so he is lacking in sacred authority. He may be a war leader, but he need not be; and even when he is a war leader, it is a very small party that he commands. Thus,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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the Cubeo headman is lacking in precisely those attributes that in other parts of the world have traditionally played a prominent part in political evolution.

The two terms, *habókü* and *kenámi upákü*, meaning, respectively, a man of substance and "owner of the house," illustrate the conceptual range in Cubeo leadership. The *habókü* is the leader, whose presence, enhanced by a muscular physique, commands respect, who has undisputed skill in hunting, in fishing, in crafts, and who commands ceremonial lore. He possesses the full range of ceremonial regalia, feather headdresses, necklaces, and girdles. His equipment is of the best quality and in excellent condition. The *kenámi upákü*, on the other hand, is simply the head of the maloca. The *habókü* is apt to be head of the house, but a house head need not be *habókü*, although as a leader he will possess some *habókü* attributes. Thus not all headmen qualify as *habókü*. Those of higher-ranking sibs, such as the *Órabawa*, *Aúnbwawü*, and *Hehénewa*, usually do, and those of lower-ranking sibs, such as the *Bahúkiwa*, usually do not. The existence of a concept of *habókü* is a spur to the ambition of a headman, although the status is honorific only. The *habókü* commands respect everywhere in the tribe, but his authority, such as it is, is limited to his own sib. Sibmen share in the prestige of having a *habókü* as headman. Not every *habókü* is the head of his sib, for in some sibs several men hold the title and their senior is then the headman. In time of war the *habókü* is the natural war leader. Even when not headman his leadership is drawn upon in hunting and in all collective activities.

In the higher-ranking sibs the insignia of *habókü* include, first, a quartz cylinder worn as a pendant, a jaguar-tooth girdle, an armadillo-vertebrae girdle, and, finally, *mápena*, the ceremonial headdress of feathers and monkey hair. The *Bahúkiwa*, who are not privileged to wear either the quartz pendant or the girdles, maintain that *mápena* are the principal insignia of *habókü* status among them, although they defer to the higher status of the insignia of their higher-ranking clans. The *Hehénewa* deride this *Bahúkiwa* claim and insist that without the pendant and girdles no man can call himself *habókü*. The *Bahúkiwa* define *habókü* as an achieved status and the *Hehénewa* as a hereditary status, but only in the sense that it pertains to high-ranking sibs. Within the proper sib any man may acquire the insignia and the status of *habókü*.[1]

[1] Apropos of social status, Martius (1867, I, 596) reported caste distinctions of chiefs, nobles, and commoners on the Vaupés. He gives no details. One suspects an exaggeration, although the bases for his view are understandable.